1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

not own the land, but is in charge of the hunting party for the time that they are away in the bush.

'The *Tenedan*' would separate people fighting by spreading ashes on the land between the combatants; no man may shoot an arrow over this line. It is taboo to the land to have sexual intercourse in the bush. Any one who found people doing so will collect a heap of leaves and branches at that spot, and every one who passed there must add more. Such a place is called *pey bok* (vagina hole).

'A woman may not become a *Tenedan*.'[1] *Tenedan*' have not any distinctive dress from that of any Elder. There is no difference between the funeral custom for a *Tenedan*' and that of an Elder.'

[1] But see p. 371. [i.e. The opposite is true among the Nam Nam - Analyst.]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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of an enemy in order to hit him. Fighting went on all day in spasms. At nightfall the men retired to their settlements to feast, dance, sing boastful songs, lament the dead, and rest. This was kept up for two or three days at most and then peace was made.[1]

Tale warfare inevitably took this form, since no single segment of the society and neither of the two major groups of clans had political power superior to any other segment or the other group. There is no institutional framework that could be extended so as to make any one segment paramount over the others as a result of a successful war. Every segment holds its allotted place in the whole system in virtue of complementary politico-ritual ties with the other segments, in particular with segments that would be opposed to it in war. They have common values and are subject to common ritual sanctions. Besides, their marriage rules and kinship system spread a wide network of affinal and cognatic relations between clans and lineages. Every Talən has cognatic or affinal kin in every clan within a radius of four or five miles of his own. Though corporate loyalties to his lineage and clan override his private loyalties to his kinsfolk of other clans, whenever the corporate interests of his unit are at stake, they do not extinguish them. Hence a man had to be very careful, in a fight, to avoid killing or injuring any of his own kinsmen who might be on the other side. Hence, also, the prohibition of pillage for one's own advantage. If the enemy was routed, the victors might descend on their settlement, set fire to the homesteads, burn the stored grain, slaughter and eat the live-stock; they could not carry off any of the enemy's possessions. A Namoo clan might fight a Talis clan; but it would be a grave sin against kinship morality for an individual Namoo to plunder or to take captive individual Talis, since they would most likely be the cognates or affines of members of his own clan and therefore indirectly of himself. The idea of killing the women folk or children of the enemy clan—who might easily be one's clan sisters or nephews—would have seemed monstrous.

Last, but not least, Tale economic organization is incompatible with warfare for material gain. There was and is no such thing as a tribe-wide or clan economy. Occupational differentiation, other than the division of labour between the sexes and in accordance with age, has barely emerged. Local trade is becoming increasingly important, but there was in the past no commerce other than barter and occasional petty trade. The Tallensi were and are still sedentary cultivators, using a primitive

[1] Tallensi often say that many men were killed and wounded in these fights. As they never counted their casualties it is impossible to get accurate figures from them. But taking account of the weapons used, the manner of fighting, and the duration of the fights, it is difficult to believe that casualties were in fact very heavy. As far as I can estimate, no more than three to four thousand men, fighting in scattered contingents of about 20 to 50 men, would be engaged in a general war. A settlement like Tongo, the largest in Taleland, would turn out between 200 and 300 fighting men at the outside. Putting together all that I was told, I would say that three or four men killed and a dozen wounded would have been regarded as a very heavy casualty list for Tongo in a day's fighting. It must be remembered, though, that the mortality from wounds was probably high, as the main non-magical treatment used was to suck the poison and pus out of the wound.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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lineage. The latter grows directly out of the former and very often occupies the same dwelling as, or one close to that of, the former. For a woman marriage signifies a sharp break. As wife and mother she generally lives in a different, even if familiarly close, clan settlement from that of her birth. A man, living all his life side by side with the other members of his lineage, participating in the hierarchy of the corporate units that make up the lineage system, identifying himself with all its members through their common jural, economic, and ceremonial interests, makes an easy, self-evident, and gradual transition from the status of a minor (*tarəm*) under his father's control to that of a father and head of a household. The change in status and social role from that of a daughter and member of one lineage to that of a wife and mother in the settlement of another is more drastic and complex. A woman has no rights in or ties with the community[1] in which she spends the greatest part of her life, exercises her heaviest responsibilities, achieves her most cherished fulfilment, and acquires her strongest emotional attachments, except through her family by marriage, her husband, and her children. Thus a woman's life is fraught with many possibilities of conflict between the loyalties and sentiments towards her natal lineage and those which she gradually builds up in relation to her husband's lineage.

The effect of all this is to make the home of even greater importance for a woman than for a man. Her conjugal home is the supreme and almost the sole domain of her labour and life. Her children are the very hub of her existence. She is first and foremost a housewife and mother, toiling devotedly in the care of her children, in attending to her husband's needs, in giving her contribution of labour and skill to the economy of the household, and in the numerous household tasks that call for daily attention.

The Architecture of the Homestead in Relation to the Structure of the Domestic Family

Tale homesteads are solidly constructed of pile (puddled mud, *tan*), and they are built to last. Erecting the circular walls tier by tier, plastering them, roofing the rooms, stamping the floors, adding the small contrivances and the decorations that increase the comfort and attraction of the homestead, are all tasks requiring considerable skill, care, and co-operation. They are not the work of specialists, though some men and women have more skill in them than others, and many people have such poor skill that they never undertake them. The conventional division of labour involves both sexes equally in the building of a homestead. Building and thatching is men's work; plastering, drawing the crude lines and geometrical designs that

[1] She may, and usually does, have cognatic kinsfolk there, but her ties with them are valid only for the particular individuals.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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342 462 decorate the walls, and stamping the floors into smooth, hard surfaces are all women's work. According to its size and the number of workers available, from the commencement to the final touches, it takes from three weeks to two months of intermittent but often strenuous labour to build a homestead. This falls chiefly on its future occupants. All [476] the members of the family, including the children, lend a hand. But co-members of the owner's clan, especially of his own local segment and their wives, as well as kinsmen, affines, and friends, lend their services too, and this involves considerable expenditure of foodstuffs to reward them.

356 Again, substantial as they are, Tale houses are not impervious to the weather, with its drastic alternation of great heat and drought and heavy rains. After a couple of years the soaking rains of July and August begin to wear the walls away, rot the thatch, and pit the floors. A man who wants to keep his homestead in trim condition must do some repairs every dry season. New rooms may be added from time to time, if the family grows in numbers, or old rooms allowed to fall in if it diminishes. With such alterations and repairs, a homestead may stand for a generation. In the older settlements many sites have been occupied for two or three generations continuously, the homesteads having been completely rebuilt, bit by bit, several times during this period.

592 554 Building a new homestead is an outstanding event in the life of its owner and a matter of public attention. It always marks a significant change in a man's status—his economic and jural emancipation from minority, or his attainment of eldership high up in the lineage hierarchy. Hence it requires moral sanction and ritual precautions. As we have seen, it also mobilizes all the basic social ties a man has. The house itself, embodying the labour and care of himself, his family, and many of his relatives by blood and marriage, stands as a monument to the efficacy of these social ties.

592 341 We can see why the Tale homestead, looked at merely from the architectural aspect, is the material projection of the social relations that make up the domestic family. All Tale homesteads have the same architectural pattern, just as all Tale domestic families have the same basic structure. Only in one point of style and construction do Tale homesteads differ in type, and this is not a question of taste. The Tallensi have two kinds of roofs, a conical thatched roof lashed on to a frame of rafters, and a flat roof of beaten pile supported on a ceiling of strong rafters. The thatch roof is the easier to make and the most common. But nearly every thatched homestead has at least one flat-roofed room (*pii*), as a matter both of convention and of utility. It is the scene of many activities in the dry season. Men, women, and children sit or sprawl on the roof to rest, to chat, or when they are busy with some sedentary task such as sewing or spinning. Grain, vegetables, and edible leaves are spread out to dry there. On

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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595 According to the natives, quarrels between co-wives are often due to
578 one or other of them having an intractable disposition. Men add that women lack self-control and are very prone to petty jealousy; they are apt to quarrel if they think they are being unfairly treated, if, for instance, one wife seems to receive more than a fair share of her husband's attention. But when actual cases of such quarrels are examined they are seen to be an expression of the tensions springing from the cleavages in the structure of the domestic family. They are temporary disturbances of the balance between the relatively autonomous matri-central *dug* and the inclusive patri-central *yir*. That is why they occur so rarely between women who are related by kinship or clanship, and who therefore think of their *dugɔt* as subdivisions of a single wider *dug*. Co-wives live in harmony as long as they act in the interests of the common *yir*; dissensions arise between them when they do not accept the paramountcy of the *yir*, and assert their relative autonomy in relation to one another. In the normal run of family life the interests of the common *yir* come first, for the sustenance of the family and the general welfare of all its members depend upon proper co-operation between them, resting on mutual loyalty and goodwill.

595 The women of the household, both those who are co-wives to one another, and those who are mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, or
● 462 mother and daughter to one another, usually work together harmoniously
241 to perform their share of the productive labour of agriculture. They work under the direction of the head of the house, and the products of their labour accrue to the common food supply. This is a part of the co-operative economic organization of the household. Thus at sowing or harvest time one often sees a whole family working together in the fields. When a sowing party is at work one sees the men striding vigorously ahead, dibbling the holes with their long heavy dibbles cut from saplings, while the women follow behind, chattering and laughing amicably as they sow the grain. And when the harvest is in full swing, one sees similar cheerful family parties out on the field or homeward bound at dusk in Indian file, the men in front, perhaps carrying their pear-shaped wicker coops in which they have collected a brood of chickens that had been allowed to run in the fields during the day, the women sauntering close behind them, the heavy baskets of grain on their heads, and small boys and girls gambolling in the rear blowing
[534] their whistles and shaking their rattles (*kiŋkaɣah*) of serrated calabash disks.

595 The independence of the *dug* comes out in the utilization of the food-supply. As the women have to supply the vegetables for cooking the relish which the natives regard as an indispensable accompaniment to their heavy porridge, each woman who has her own *dug* is entitled to a vegetable patch beside the wall of the homestead. Except for the senior woman of the house, who has a slightly larger vegetable patch

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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593 (*Man daa nye fara dɔŋi ki cɔɔm la ŋwala*)', this is a curse of the most
789 terrible kind. For that reason, no doubt, none of my informants could
826 quote an instance of a mother actually putting this curse on a child. The symbolism is of interest, however, in view of the stress Tallensi lay on the mother as food-giver in their conventional picture of her.

Childhood

857 The next three or four years of a child's life are probably its freest and
593 happiest. Its energies are spent in play or in roaming around the immediate neighbourhood of the homestead in the company of slightly older siblings and classificatory siblings. But children of this age delight in being with their parents too. They will hang around their mother in the kitchen and trot around or sit with their father when he is resting under the shade tree. They see and hear everything that is going on in the house and are tolerated at all domestic occasions. In this way, and through their mimetic play, they build up the rudimentary schemas[1] of ideas, manual dexterities, and sentiments out of which grow the skills, interests, and values of later life. Love and indulgence is still the keynote of their parents' and other close relatives' attitude to them. Tallensi say that small children at this stage are still more attached to their mother than to their father because it is she who feeds them. In fact, as we have already mentioned, throughout a Talən's life he thinks of his mother as the one who gave him food without stint, going hungry herself, if need be, so that her child might be fed.

857 By the age of 7 or 8 the child's world is becoming much more complex;
868 and the shadow of discipline and authority is creeping over it. Until it
593 reaches the threshold of adolescence, at about 12 to 14 years of age, it still remains free to play for much of its time. But from the age of 7 or so boys and girls are eager to participate in the adult routine of life and they become more and more involved in it. They begin by being given the simplest economic and household tasks such as scaring the birds from the fields of ripening grain, tethering the goats, rounding up the poultry—tasks which children of both sexes perform—or sweeping the house, carrying a tiny pot of water, gathering edible fungi or herbs for the pot, which girls only do. A very common task of both girls and boys at this stage is acting nursemaid to a baby. As this shows, there is very little social differentiation between them as yet.

857 By the age of about 9 or 10 children begin to adopt the sexual division
593 of labour customary among the Tallensi, and with it the corresponding
462 division of social roles and ideals. Boys start following their older brothers and take their turn at herding their father's cattle if he has any.
868 They are becoming more skilful with the hoe and by the age of about 12 reach a high degree of proficiency. A 12-year-old boy helps his mother

[1] Cf. the discussion of this concept in my Memorandum just cited.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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to hoe her ground-nut plot and may have a small ground-nut plot of his own. Sometimes he will work short spells with his father on the home farm. He may have a fowl or two of his own and will be trying to breed chickens and guinea-fowl. He is thinking of farming and of the breeding of poultry and livestock in the same terms as his father does. A girl of 9 or 10 is learning from her mother how to cook, how to beat floors and plaster walls, how to carry out all the routine domestic duties of a housewife. She is acquiring the woman's view of life centred on marriage and motherhood.

On the economic side the child's world has become differentiated into two divisions in accordance with the sexual division of labour. It has become correspondingly differentiated on the structural side into a sphere of masculine interests and dominance and a sphere of feminine interests and dominance—overlapping spheres, it is true, but still with differences of major emphasis. At sowing time and harvest time, when a house is being built, a funeral made, or a sacrifice carried out, a boy is with the men, sometimes lending a hand and so acquiring the right ways of doing things, as often as not weaving himself in and out of the activity, together with his friends, in play.

It is striking to see how boys at this stage identify themselves with their fathers in speech, gesture, and behaviour, and this gives a bias to their character for life. Nindɔyat of Zubiuŋ's three boys, from the oldest, aged about 20, to the youngest, aged about 7, had their father's arrogant, vulgar egotism. Ɔmara's three sons, covering about the same age range, were, like their father, quiet, modest, and self-effacing. Samane's two small boys of about 7 or 8, who always followed him about like two pups, had his engaging swagger and blunt self-confidence. And one sees it, also, in the way a small boy will hector his mother—for instance, when the family is out sowing or lifting ground-nuts—in exactly the tone of voice and manner that his father uses. Little girls identify themselves in the same way with their mothers both in the work they do and in their ways of behaving. I used to learn a great deal about the opinions and personal attitudes of men and women from the gossip brought to me by their children. By the age of 8 or 9 a girl feels herself to belong to the women. She talks with disdain of her 5-year-old playmate or sister who still eats fowl and she is full of the women's gossip of babies and pregnancies and marriages.

Up to the age of about 5 a child is allowed much latitude in conforming to the standards and values of Tale culture. By the age of 8 or 9 it is 'acquiring sense (*ŋɔŋa yam*)', beginning to understand these standards and values and is expected to conform to them as far as its physical and social maturity permit. Its parents will henceforth assert their authority and exercise discipline to assure this, and thence comes a further social and emotional differentiation of the parents. Properly speaking it is only the father who exercises authority over a child; a mother rules her child

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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CHAPTER XII

THE FUNCTIONS OF KINSHIP

OUR study has made it clear that the recognition of genealogical relationships in the ordering of social life has an extremely wide range of application among the Tallensi. To be sure, some classes of social relations in which individuals or organized groups normally participate do not necessarily imply cognizance of genealogical connexions. There are the activities of buyers and sellers in the market-place, for example. These are transactions in which kinship may, but for the most part does not, play a critical part. If it comes into the picture it does so as an adventitious factor, not as an intrinsic constitutive element. Even between kinsfolk transactions in the market are ruled by considerations of price, costs, profits, supply, and demand. A man who goes to market to buy a cap will not patronize a kinsman who has caps for sale if he can get one cheaper from a stranger. But it may happen that a seller of caps will be satisfied with a slightly smaller margin of profit if the buyer is his kinsman than if he is a stranger.

Apart from such ephemeral inter-personal relations, there are lasting social ties, such as those of friendship (*zoot*), which do not necessarily presuppose genealogical connexions. It is a common thing for Tallensi, especially for men, to have friends (*zɔ*, pl. *zɔnam*) in other clans than their own, and nowadays in neighbouring tribes. Friends visit one another occasionally, help one another sometimes, and give one another gifts. A man may also have a woman friend (*sɔm*), usually the wife of one of his clansmen. The man takes small gifts to his *sɔm* from time to time and she reciprocates by cooking a meal for him. She may assist him to find a wife from among her clan sisters. But if friends are not necessarily kinsmen, they very often have common kin. In fact friendships between unrelated Tallensi are most often formed through one of the parties visiting a kinsman of the other party and so making his acquaintance. Many friendships arise from contacts at funeral ceremonies or when hoeing or building parties come to help a father- or brother-in-law. In any case, the commonest and most prized form of friendship is friendship with a clansman or a neighbour of a related clan. Many such friendships go back to childhood and are the more highly prized because they are voluntary, personal, and not subject to hard-and-fast rules.

In the same way, though the Tallensi do not have institutionalized age-grades, men or women of about the same degree of social maturity are often grouped together in situations in which many people of all ages play a part. One sees this very clearly on ceremonial occasions. At funeral ceremonies, for example, there is first of all the usual separation

[p. 337]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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of the spheres of the two sexes. The sphere of the women is within the homestead. There they stay most of the time and there they carry out the duties that fall to them. The sphere of the men is outside, in front of the gateway, in the cattle yard and the *zoŋ* (cf. p. 53). All the public rites take place outside. But in addition there is a distribution of tasks, duties, and privileges in accordance with a broad stratification by seniority. The oldest people in both spheres are spoken of as the elders (*kpɛm*). They have the seats of honour. For the most part they merely advise, and if hitches arise exercise a somewhat distant supervision over the activities. If they take an active part it is only in the most important of the rites. But they have the highest privileges. When food or meat or beer is distributed it is the elders who receive the portions due to the lineage units they represent and take the largest share of these portions. It is the old women, too, who take the lion's share of the gifts and obligatory contributions of foodstuffs handed over to the womenfolk. The burden of managing the ceremonies, performing the complicated series of rites, and attending to the many practical tasks involved, such as digging the grave, slaughtering sacrificial animals, and preparing food and beer, falls on the men who 'come after the elders (*kpɛm tayalis*)' and their female counterparts. The *kpɛm tayalis* are the men of mature experience but still able-bodied, men in the late forties and early fifties, the corresponding stratum among the women being those who have adolescent children. The young men and women, assisted by the adolescent boys and girls, do the fetching and carrying and give any casual help that may be required. The boys have the privilege of plucking and roasting any fowls that are slaughtered and keep some of the titbits for themselves. The girls surfeit themselves with frequent tasting of porridge and oily bean stew while they are cooking. This pattern can be observed in any collective activity.

Such arrangements, informal products though they are of the pragmatic requirements of the situation, are so stereotyped that they can be called customary. They arise without reference to genealogical connexions. But it is characteristic of Tale social life that they do so in situations whose structure is determined by kinship and clanship institutions. In fact the ideology of kinship is so dominant in Tale society, and the web of genealogical connexions so extensive, that no social relationships or events fall completely outside the orbit of kinship. In this respect the Tallensi resemble very many other primitive societies among whom, as Firth puts it,[1] kinship is the articulating principle of social organization. Just because kinship acts as a major determinant of social behaviour in every aspect and department of social life, it is the basis of the machinery of social integration in societies of this type, as many studies in Africa, Oceania, and America have shown. The result, as we have seen, both in this book and in the first part of our study, is that

[1] Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia*, 1936, p. 577.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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of time reflected in the growing up of children and the aging of parents, bring about changes which materially affect the food economy.

THE UNIT OF FOOD ECONOMY. Food is produced and consumed by what we shall call the unit of food economy. The following table, derived from the data for the 40 randomly selected compounds mentioned previously, shows the relation between this unit and those we have already described.

	Compounds	*Gateways*	*Units of food economy*	*Households*	*Primary families*	*Productive men*	*Women*
Total	40	56	58	77	114	107	124
Ratio		1	1	1·4	2·0	1·9	2·2

	Children
Total	132
Ratio	2·4

A unit of food economy thus corresponds, generally, to a single gateway,[1] and comprises more than one household. The man at the head of this unit holds the land from which it derives the major part of its sustenance and organizes the exploitation of this land. The productive men (i.e. those capable of agricultural labour, including boys over 15) jointly cultivate this land; the women and children jointly assist in sowing it and in such duties as scaring birds from the standing crops. At harvest time the men and boys cut the grain, women and girls carry it home in baskets. The head of the unit supervises the sorting of the grain, and is responsible for the selection and preservation of seed. He sees to the storage of the grain—the seed separately and specially carefully, the grain for consumption in the granary. The ground-nut crop is similarly handled by co-operative labour. It is a maxim that those who work together share the products of their labour. This applies not only to joint labour in the fields, but to the division of labour between the sexes and generations. Upon the men falls the most arduous agricultural labour, but the women have equally exacting duties connected with the preparation of food

[1] The two units of food economy in excess of the number of gateways represent pairs of full brothers who were economically independent of each other, but continued to occupy the same compound for kinship reasons. Four other units of food economy were in process of splitting up at the time the census was taken.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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for consumption. This division of labour runs through the whole of Tale domestic economy and is equally well evinced, e.g. in the organization of house-building and repairing. Boys and girls, too, have their duties in connexion with the care of the live stock and in the house.

The head of such a self-supporting unit has his own granary or granaries. Just as he is the final arbiter in agricultural matters, so he alone controls the distribution to the women of the grain jointly produced. In theory he could even sell the grain if he wished without consulting the men dependent on him; in practice, he dare not do so, for they would leave the compound at the first opportunity.

The entire unit of food economy thus draws its main supply of grain, the staple foodstuff, from a common source. But every household, every primary family, and indeed every individual other than young children has a degree of economic independence which is limited only by the obligations to the bigger unit. An industrious householder usually possesses some poultry and perhaps sheep and goats of his own, supplies a good deal of the minor crops consumed by his own wives and children, and even some grain to augment his wives' rations from the main store. Every woman, again, adds to the food supply of her primary family by her own efforts. If she is a market trader or a potteress, for example, she will have money of her own, will sometimes purchase extra foodstuffs and may invest in live stock which will eventually go to her sons. Her husband has no powers of disposal over her property. If he uses any of it, by her permission, it is a debt which must be repaid.

DOMESTIC ORGANIZATION IN RELATION TO AGRICULTURE AND CROPS. This system can best be understood in relation to Tale agriculture. The staple crop is millet (generically, *ki*) of which there are three kinds, early millet (*naara: pennisetum typhoideum*); guinea-corn (*ki* specifically, each variety being known by a special term, e.g. *kutɔk*, *kazii* &c.: *sorghum vulgare*); and late millet (*za: pennisetum spicatum*). These with a small amount of rice (*mui: oryza sativa*) occupy 92 per cent. of the area cultivated in the Zuarungu district.[1] The seasonal

[1] According to Mr. Lynn, who reports observations on 29 compounds in Zuarungu district, five being in Tale settlements. Four were somewhat larger and

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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not required at the time, and always borrowed specifically for this purpose from kinsmen and friends. Women rarely obtain their ground-nut fields from their husbands. They prefer to beg land from their own cognatic kinsmen, thus emphasizing their absolute independence of their husbands as regards this crop.

For this reason they never receive assistance from their husbands with the hoeing and planting of their ground-nut fields. A son often assists his mother; or young women 'invite' (*pooh*) a couple of young kinsmen of their husband to hoe their ground-nut fields in return for a very good meal, the grain for which the woman generally provides from her own resources. Many, again, have simply to rely upon their own skill with the hoe. The ground-nut crop thus gained is the woman's to consume or sell, as she pleases.

Of the remaining subsidiary crops, the most important—though less important than ground-nuts—are the legumes, Bambara beans (*suma: voandzeia subterranea*), cow-peas (*tia: vigna sinensis*) and geocarpa beans (*sulempie: kerstingiella geocarpa*); and the root crops, frafra potatoes (*penha: coleus dysentericus*) and sweet potatoes (*gumhma'ala: ipomea batatas*). Bambara beans and frafra potatoes are grown by the more energetic younger men on borrowed strips of compound farm after the millet is cut. Cow-peas are planted along the edges of compound farm by the head when he sows his early millet.

Vegetables are the concern and the property of women. The head of a unit of food economy every year allots a small patch of land, some 100 square yards or less, immediately beside the compound wall to each woman with a kitchen of her own. Here she sows her *nangena* (*gynandropsis pentaphylla*), some ocro (*ma'ana: hibiscus esculentus*), *bet* (*h. sabdariffa*), *beris* (*h. cannabinus*). The latter three vegetable plants are also grown like cow-peas and *neri* (*cucumis melo*), alongside the paths which border the compound farm. Thus as they grow and ripen the women can get at them easily without injuring the millet. A woman's vegetable patch is always hoed for her by her husband as the produce is for their common use. The leaves of the cow-pea plant (*tia: vide supra*) are used as a vegetable known as *beyit*, and are plucked for this purpose by the wives of the man who planted the *tia*; and the same rule applies to the use of the *neri* seed as a soup ingredient.

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deal with the conversion of these raw materials into cooked food for the maintenance of all by the almost exclusive efforts of the woman.

The preparation of food is a woman's task. Though cooking is done by both sexes, men cook only on ritual and special occasions and, as a rule, out of doors. Women always cook in the kitchen, as it is a taboo to prepare food for everyday consumption outside the compound. As we have already mentioned, every woman other than a young wife has her own quarters (*dug*) consisting of several rooms. Of these, the most important for the present paper are the grinding room (*neer*) and the kitchens (*da'ay*). Not every woman possesses her own grinding-room, but she may use that of any other woman in her husband's compound, or of a related neighbouring compound, and no one may refuse her. The owner's permission is never asked, but a woman will not enter a grinding-room if she observes another's grain lying on the grinding-platform.

The grinding-room is the source of much friction within the compound. It is the cause or pretext of women's quarrels which often involve their husbands as well. Disputes arise mainly over the question of priority, or about the misuse of the grinding stones, e.g. leaving the *baarig* soiled with soup ingredients. Hence, a man will try to build a grinding-room for each wife in order to maintain the peace.

Inside the grinding-room is a low, semicircular platform (*nuor*) the surface of which has two or three shallow depressions with their appropriate grindstones (*neekay*). These vary in weight, shape, and texture according to the purpose for which they are intended. There is a heavy and rough grindstone—*gmaarig*—used for crushing the whole grain; a smaller and flatter one—*baarig*—which crushes the rough corn into fine flour (*zem*); and a small, round stone—*zibo'aconor*—used only for grinding soup ingredients such as dried vegetables, red pepper, rock-salt, dawa-dawa-seed balls, dried meat, &c. If a grinding-room lacks the latter stone the soup ingredients are mixed with a little flour and ground with the *baarig*. The flour is added so that the stone should be left clean and dry.

The kitchen consists of two adjoining rooms, a covered one (*da'ambok*) used during the wet season, which serves also as the store-room for the owner's produce, her firewood, and cooking-pots, and an open one (*da'ay*) used during the dry season. However, it happens

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not infrequently that a woman has only an open kitchen and uses her sleeping-room for wet-season cooking and for storage purposes.

A woman owns all her cooking utensils, and it is usually her mother who equips her with these as soon as her husband has built her a kitchen. Before that she uses the pots of the woman whose kitchen she shares. The fittings of a Tale kitchen are not elaborate: a fireplace consisting of two stones placed side by side against the wall; a flat stone or low stool facing it on which the woman sits while cooking; the stirring-stick leaning against the wall to the right of the fireplace, and one or two old and partly broken calabashes to the left of it; this is the complete picture.

The most exacting task in a woman's routine is the provision of firewood and water. She collects her firewood on her husband's bush farm or on unowned bush land, which may be as much as 4 or 5 miles from her home. It takes her the best part of a day to collect enough for three days. The strain of coping with her firewood requirements becomes acute when a woman has a new-born infant to care for and cannot absent herself for many hours at a time. She may therefore invite a young sister or cousin to come and stay with her and assist her; and such a young girl is often eventually taken in marriage by her husband. Co-wives never lend or give each other firewood; but when a woman has recently been confined, her mother and sisters bring her gifts of firewood when they come to congratulate her, and her husband looks about for heavy logs to bring home to her. He may assist her to carry water, too, for a few days. This is the only time when a man performs these domestic duties. At the end of the harvesting season each woman carefully collects guinea-corn stalks from the fields and stores them on the flat roof of the sleeping-room or inside the kitchen for firewood.

Water is kept in large earthenware pots (*kwoor*) in the kitchen. There is no scarcity of water during the rainy season, as every ditch and furrow becomes a stream, but in the dry season it is a problem. The women and young girls spend many patient hours at the water-holes collecting the water, drop by drop, in their calabashes, as it seeps through the moist sand. This water is kept for cooking and drinking purposes only. A few water-holes do not dry away completely, but become foul with rotting vegetation and stagnancy. The

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

571 861 siblings, half-siblings, and ortho-cousins of close agnatic kinship from the same joint family or sublineage group. The composition of a children's group depends upon various factors. The most important of these are the following:

561 857 *Age and mobility.* Infants still requiring care are often carried about by boys and girls attached to a group of older children. Generally speaking, children of the same degree of mobility tend to go about together. Thus one often finds a group comprising children of about 6 to 10 years. But the stage of social development reached by a child is important in this connexion. Hence young children under 10–11, children between 10–11 and the beginning of pubescence, and adolescents all tend to form separate groups.

571 857 462 *Sex.* Before the age of about 6 years small boys very frequently go about with girls' groups, and small girls, though more rarely, accompany older brothers. After that age as mobility increases and interests diverge the sexes tend to separate. A well-defined sexual dichotomy runs through Tale social life and thought, and the children begin to adopt the cultural definitions of the roles of the sexes in relation to each other about the time that single-sex groups become common. This is associated with a differentiation of their activities on the periphery of the economic system. Thus cowherds are always boys, whereas it is the girls who help with the housekeeping.

571 857 *The social situation.* Yet none of these children's groups resemble gangs. They have no permanent structure. They generally crystallize out in particular situations and the composition of a group depends largely upon the situation. In ritual situations one often finds a somewhat amorphous group of children and young people of a wide age-range. In games and imaginative play, however, it is more usual to meet with small groups of restricted age-range. Pairs and trios of either sex and of nearly the same age, who are almost always siblings or ortho-cousins, often have a more lasting companionship in work and play and provide a nucleus for larger temporary groups, especially in the dry season.

593 861 858 The most fundamental educational relationship of the Tallensi is, however, not that of children to children but of children to parents. It is a complex relationship, as defined in Tale culture, but its principal moments can be readily discerned. On the plane of rational, everyday

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in sacrifices to domestic shrines; the girls assist in household tasks such as sweeping and carrying water. Towards the end of this period boys whose fathers own cattle go out with the cattle-herds and girls are beginning to help in the preparation of food. A 10-year-old girl can prepare the majority of usual dishes. At the age of 6 or 7 brothers and sisters often play together; at 9 or 10 the sexual dichotomy has become firmly established.[1]

At this stage the play of infancy develops in three directions. The sporadic motor exuberance is transformed into recreational play—organized group games and dances; the rudimentary mimetic play becomes elaborate and protracted imaginative and constructive play; and the rude toy-making of infancy grows into children's arts and crafts.

Tale children have a great many organized games, passed on from one generation of children to the next by drawing younger ones into the games played by those who already know them. The games are traditional, and often built round themes derived from the cultural idiom—farming, hunting, marriage, chiefs, &c. But their value is predominantly recreational. Children play them for the pleasure of collective singing, rhythmical physical activity, and sensory and bodily stimulation. The ordinary dances of moonlight nights in which both adults and children participate are regarded as 'play' of this kind.

Kuobon is a game of this sort. Both boys and girls from 7–8 to about 15 years play it on moonlight nights in single-sex groups. A group of about the same size forms a ring, clasping each other and standing on one leg. The other leg is extended towards the centre of the ring, and the children arrange themselves so that their extended legs cross one another. The group then commences to revolve, singing as they go round and round, *kuobon, yee-e-e la yaah*, 'fruits of farming, yee, how nice'. The game goes on until they are tired and the extended legs begin to drop. It breaks up with much laughter, only to start again after a rest. Similar games are played by boys only and others by girls only; but for both sexes dancing is the supreme recreation. In both the mixed dances and the single-sex

[1] Nevertheless, this sexual dichotomy is not so absolute as to prohibit a girl or a woman from stepping into a breach if there is no male available for a man's task; and men often undertake women's work in an emergency.

857 868 857 857 526 857 535 [462]

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463 OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALIZATION--number of partially and fully specialized occupations; major occupational categories (e.g., learned and artistic professions, independent industrial and business entrepreneurs, managerial personnel, independent and tenant farmers, government officials, clerical and white-collar workers, skilled artisans, semi-skilled and unskilled industrial workers, farm laborers, domestic servants, slaves); general information about occupational specialization; vocational guidance; specific information on occupations not classifiable elsewhere; etc. This category is designed for summary statements about occupational specialization; in nearly all instances specific information will be classified elsewhere under a wide range of functional and occupational headings. See also:

Stratification of occupations by class and caste . . 56
Occupational composition of the population . . 162
Status, role, and prestige 554
Vocational education 874

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obsequious among themselves. With all their respect for custom they are not its slaves. Individual initiative, ambition and independence of action, within the limits imposed by their social and material order, are common.

Tallensi do not question their traditional ritual values, but there is an element of what we should call rationalism in their religious attitudes. Their ancestor cult, an elaborate body of beliefs, rites, and ceremonies, is minutely woven into their everyday existence, but it does not pursue them with phantom terrors. On the contrary, it is the principal means provided by Tale culture for keeping the individual and the group on an even keel.

Stability; tolerance of physical hardship and discomfort as well as of human frailty and idiosyncrasy; a reasonable degree of conformity; a tenacious attachment to life fortified by an elaborate ancestor cult—these characteristics of Tale culture strike the observer at the outset. On the surface the Tale ideal is to have enough to eat, to be a successful parent, and to live at peace with one's fellows. Closer acquaintance, however, reveals hidden undercurrents. Beneath the overt stability and integration of the social order lie continuous tensions. Indeed the stability of Tale society can only be understood as a product of these tensions, created and maintained by the social processes that resolve them. Again, the natives' keen sense of the importance of social obligations hides a tendency to aggressive self-assertion. Tallensi are quick to anger if they feel themselves wronged, and are good haters. Their usual spirit of good-natured tolerance masks a proneness to suspicious watchfulness, and their frugality covers a spendthrift streak. These contradictions are subtly revealed in their religious practices. The strength of their ancestor cult rests not only on its predominant role as an integrating force in their social structure, but also on its profound psychological value for the individual. Tallensi react to misfortune with strong anxiety and guilt feelings from which they find a refuge in their ancestor cult.

This sketch of how the Tallensi strike a European calls for qualifications. It is couched in terms of our cultural values in order to help us to visualize these people in terms of a familiar vocabulary and automatic mental images. Objectively, from the standpoint of the people themselves, the value judgements implicit in our description lose their meaning. What we see as their poverty, dirtiness, poor health, and rudeness of culture they accept with equanimity as the normal conditions of their life. They have no grievance or shame about them. Being common to everybody, these conditions do not create rifts in their society or maladjustments in the individual as they do with us. They are in one respect simply part of the atmosphere within which the culture of the Tallensi (and their neighbours) develops its own richness and amplitude; in another, the material of significant themes in that culture.

Every aspect of Tale social life is conditioned by the fact that they are a primitive peasantry. There is no division of labour apart from that of the sexes. Censuses taken in various parts of the country show that not less than 95 per cent. of the adult males are wholly dependent on agriculture for their livelihood, and all of the odd 5 per cent. are partially dependent on the same source. Craft specialists work at their crafts only

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in their spare time, and chiefly in the dry season when there is no farm work. They are exceedingly few in numbers—one or two in a settlement—and their work is of mediocre quality. The only blacksmiths in Taleland are about a dozen men of the Sakpee clan of Tenzugu, and only one of them derives a substantial part of his livelihood from his craft. A leather-worker or two, a potteress, a sewer of caps, may be found in almost every settlement. Some men and women who are more skilful than their neighbours at making articles of common use such as hen-coops, baskets, bows, adze-shafts, &c., are in the habit of making a few for sale every dry season. The only specialized occupation is that of the diviner, and it, also, is a part-time occupation in addition to farming, though a popular diviner, making perhaps a shilling or eighteen pence a day, may farm less land than he normally would. Diviners are numerous. There may be as many as ten or twenty in a large settlement, but only one or two of them will earn more than a few pence a day by divining.

British Rule and Contact with Western Civilization

Until the time of my first visit to Taleland the natives had been very little influenced by the agencies of British government and of European civilization that are active in these parts. The main roads skirt Taleland so that the flow of north- and south-bound traffic by-passes the largest part of the area. Nevertheless, these roads have served to open up Taleland to a wider sphere of intercourse with other parts of the Gold Coast than was possible twenty years before. Political and social conditions made it impossible for people to travel freely beyond a radius of a few miles from their own settlements in former days. To-day young men and even women go in increasing numbers every year, in the dry season, to Tamale, Kumasi, or the coast towns. Some go to visit friends or relatives, some carry fowls for sale, others go as seasonal labourers, and others go to work abroad for a term of years. In 1923 the Administration of the Northern Territories reluctantly agreed to assist in the recruitment of labour for the mines and cocoa farms of Ashanti and the colony. The experiment failed and was soon abandoned. Nowadays labour migration from the Northern Territories is entirely voluntary. It has become linked up with the normal economic life of the natives. Whereas, in former years, a young man moved out temporarily to the periphery of settlement on account of a shortage of land in his natal community, nowadays he often goes to Ashanti or the mines as a labourer. The cessation of agricultural activity in the dry season makes it easy for a young man to get away for a few months without loss to the routine of farming.

Economic incentives, which the natives sum up as 'the desire for money', therefore lie behind much labour migration in the Northern Territories. And the value of money may be gauged from the fact that a hen could be bought for 6*d.* to 1*s.*, a cow in good condition for £2. 10*s.*, and a dish of porridge enough for a satisfying meal for 1/10 of a penny in any market in 1934–7. But there are other incentives as well. Curiosity, and the desire to see the places and experience the life which those who return from a stay abroad describe to their fellows at home, stimulate many a youth to go south for a short or long period. And friction with

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of an enemy in order to hit him. Fighting went on all day in spasms. At nightfall the men retired to their settlements to feast, dance, sing boastful songs, lament the dead, and rest. This was kept up for two or three days at most and then peace was made.[1]

Tale warfare inevitably took this form, since no single segment of the society and neither of the two major groups of clans had political power superior to any other segment or the other group. There is no institutional framework that could be extended so as to make any one segment paramount over the others as a result of a successful war. Every segment holds its allotted place in the whole system in virtue of complementary politico-ritual ties with the other segments, in particular with segments that would be opposed to it in war. They have common values and are subject to common ritual sanctions. Besides, their marriage rules and kinship system spread a wide network of affinal and cognatic relations between clans and lineages. Every Talən has cognatic or affinal kin in every clan within a radius of four or five miles of his own. Though corporate loyalties to his lineage and clan override his private loyalties to his kinsfolk of other clans, whenever the corporate interests of his unit are at stake, they do not extinguish them. Hence a man had to be very careful, in a fight, to avoid killing or injuring any of his own kinsmen who might be on the other side. Hence, also, the prohibition of pillage for one's own advantage. If the enemy was routed, the victors might descend on their settlement, set fire to the homesteads, burn the stored grain, slaughter and eat the live-stock; they could not carry off any of the enemy's possessions. A Namoo clan might fight a Talis clan; but it would be a grave sin against kinship morality for an individual Namoo to plunder or to take captive individual Talis, since they would most likely be the cognates or affines of members of his own clan and therefore indirectly of himself. The idea of killing the women folk or children of the enemy clan—who might easily be one's clan sisters or nephews—would have seemed monstrous.

Last, but not least, Tale economic organization is incompatible with warfare for material gain. There was and is no such thing as a tribe-wide or clan economy. Occupational differentiation, other than the division of labour between the sexes and in accordance with age, has barely emerged. Local trade is becoming increasingly important, but there was in the past no commerce other than barter and occasional petty trade. The Tallensi were and are still sedentary cultivators, using a primitive

[1] Tallensi often say that many men were killed and wounded in these fights. As they never counted their casualties it is impossible to get accurate figures from them. But taking account of the weapons used, the manner of fighting, and the duration of the fights, it is difficult to believe that casualties were in fact very heavy. As far as I can estimate, no more than three to four thousand men, fighting in scattered contingents of about 20 to 50 men, would be engaged in a general war. A settlement like Tongo, the largest in Taleland, would turn out between 200 and 300 fighting men at the outside. Putting together all that I was told, I would say that three or four men killed and a dozen wounded would have been regarded as a very heavy casualty list for Tongo in a day's fighting. It must be remembered, though, that the mortality from wounds was probably high, as the main non-magical treatment used was to suck the poison and pus out of the wound.

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

dual's transition from the child's world to the adult's—e.g. the so-called negative phase or adolescent instability which has been alleged to be universal in our society.[1] It is unknown in Tale society.[2] As between adults and children, in Tale society, the social sphere is differentiated only in terms of relative capacity. All participate in the same culture, the same round of life, but in varying degrees, corresponding to the stage of physical and mental development. Nothing in the universe of adult behaviour is hidden from children or barred to them. They are actively and responsibly part of the social structure, of the economic system, the ritual and ideological system. Psychological effects of fundamental importance for Tale education follow from this. For it means that the child is from the beginning oriented towards the same reality as its parents and has the same physical and social material upon which to direct its cognitive and instinctual endowment. The interests, motives, and purposes of children are identical with those of adults, but at a simpler level of organization. Hence the children need not be coerced to take a share in economic and social activities. They are eager to do so. This does not mean that Tale children are altogether passive in the hands of their parents. Temperamental idiosyncrasies in children strike the observer at a glance. Tantrums, disobedience, destructiveness, and other aggressive outbursts occur sometimes. Among youths and adults misfits and incompetents can be found. But even they live for the same ends and have the same objective values and interests as the majority.

The unity of the social sphere is the more marked in Tale society since they have almost no social stratification within a genealogical or local community. There are no class or rank cleavages, nor highly organized and exclusive economic, political, or ritual associations cutting across the local, genealogical segmentation; and the social division of labour is rudimentary. The pattern of existence is the same for all members of a given community, varying only in texture or tone from individual to individual. The social sphere is differentiated only as between communities which are generally localized clans or lineages. Thus, the blacksmith lineage of Sakpee is unique, as

[1] See G. Murphy, *Experimental Social Psychology*, pp. 429–32, for a critical discussion of this question.

[2] Cf. also Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*.

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

compared with its neighbours, in respect to those components of its culture connected with its craft. Only sons of that lineage may be taught the craft of the smith; and even those who through lack of inclination or ability do not learn it share the ideology associated with it and submit to ritual and moral constraints in virtue of this. Because of their traditional craft the men of Sakpee do not eat the hedgehog until they have successfully made a piece of ironwork; and when they were driven from the Tong Hills, abandoned their homes and property but carried with them the sacred anvils. Similarly, the social sphere of the Hill Tallis contrasts in many respects with that of their Namoo neighbours on account of their different ritual systems.

Yet it is necessary to note that these differences do not detract from the essential homogeneity of the social sphere for all the Tallensi. They are differences in the substance of some cultural definitions, not in the forms and functions of institutions. The totemic taboos of the Hill Tallis are exactly paralleled by the prohibitions of first-born children eating the domestic fowl among the Namoos. What their sacred groves and initiation rites mean to the former, their first ancestor, sacred drums, and the chiefship mean to the latter. The psychological substratum of social behaviour is the same in both groups and in their associated clans, with a sole exception. The initiation cult of the Hill Tallis does give a bias to their ideology and so to their social sphere which the Namoos lack.[1] In our present inquiry these differences may be neglected since the dynamic relationships of the individual to his community are the same everywhere in Taleland. Whether a child is trained as a blacksmith or as a farmer, and whether he is inducted into the ritual and ideology of the ancestor cult alone, or into that of the sacred groves as well, the principles are the same.

This background will be continuously discerned in our study of Tale education. But a few clinching observations may be cited here to show that the child is not merely a supernumerary element of his society but thinks and feels himself to be a part of it.

1. I was walking with Samane and his two small sons (8–9 years)[2]

[1] See M. Fortes, 'Ritual Festivals and Social Cohesion in the Hinterland of the Gold Coast', *American Anthropologist*, vol. xxxviii, no. 4.

[2] All ages are estimated, but the probable error of such an estimate is at least 12 months.

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184 867 463 The specific genealogical links of a family act in a similar way. In the extreme case, they may alter a person's whole life. The story of Puvələmra is typical, though such occurrences are not usual. He was a Kpatia man whose parents had died in his boyhood. For special reasons he had come to live with his mother's brother at Gbizug. There he grew up, and when I met him, a man of 35–40, he was to all intents a Gbizug man, a complete partisan of that lineage, professing its ideology, subject to its ritual restrictions, and practising the craft of leatherwork as he had learnt it from his mother's brother. He will probably return to Kpatia when he succeeds to his patrimony, there to be assimilated to a rather different ritual system, but transmitting to his sons and grandsons the art of leatherwork and the habits of industry learnt from his mother's brother. Many Tale lineages trace peculiar features of their residence or kinship, or the possession of special ritual, medical, or technological knowledge, to an ancestor with a history like that of Puvələmra.

592 622 861 Finally, the phase of family history coinciding with an early period of a person's education—the status of one or more senior members of his family, or the holding of ritual or political office by any of them —may have a significant differentiating influence on his or her social space. The homestead of a lineage or clan head is the focus of intercommunication both of the constituent parts of that grouping, the sublineages and joint families, and of the lineage or clan with its neighbours, not only in secular affairs but also in ritual matters. This is even more evident with people who hold offices. There is a constant coming and going of people at the house of a chief or clan-head: a complainant has brought a case to lay before the chief; the elders of the clan have come to consult him about the rain; somebody's daughter recently married has deserted her husband and the indignant son-in-law is brought to the clan-head to discuss the affair; a distant cognatic kinsman has brought a goat to sacrifice to the spirit of the supreme ancestor of the lineage; orders have been received that the young men must turn out for rest-house repairs in two or three days; and so forth. Transactions of this sort generally take place in public and the children of the house are always avid listeners. If any one has to be summoned or a message delivered a youth or a small boy is sent.

184 867 The members of such a house, especially those who have reached